





according to the other, he is being to be educated. The idea of government suggests restraints and checks; the virtues desired in a subject are obedience, submission, humility, and a regard to God chiefly as a ruler, and that he prefers even an obedience born of constraint to a more irregular obedience born of freedom. The very word *Fremont* becomes at last distasteful, always suggesting irregularity and license. Having thus made obedience to God to consist in the submission of a slave, it is not strange that slavery in its grossest outward forms should become sanctified and respectable.

The opposite view, which looks upon God chiefly as a father, regards man not as a slave to be governed, but as a soul to be unfolded, and looks upon life as a place of education. And here, immediately and necessarily, comes in a sense of the value of liberty. Millions in whose soul the love of liberty lay deep, and to whose life everywhere appeared a scene of free struggle and moral conquest over evil, say: "Were I the chooser, a dream of well-doing would be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of a slave, and God would surely be glorified in the completion of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious."

And again, speaking of Adam, he says: "Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had also been a moral being, and he was to be a free agent, not a slave, or a creature of mere obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, and before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence." Those who contend for the emancipation of the slave, contend for the spirit, and for this reason. They believe in freedom as the essential element of virtue. They abhor slavery, not chiefly for its outward and material evils, though these are the inevitable God-appointed marks of its foul nature, but mainly for the evil which it does to the soul. They abhor it because it forbids human progress, and because it stifles the human reason. If the negro slave in America is in a higher moral condition than he was in Africa, it is not his slavery which has made him so, but the surrounding freedom. It is because, though a slave, and in spite of slavery, he drinks in some of the blessed influences of mental and moral liberty belonging to that happier race around him. No thanks to those who made him a slave, or who keep him so, for this. It was a great blessing to Joseph, that he was sold as a slave into Egypt; but it was not his being a slave, but his being in Egypt, which brought the blessing. "Howbeit, ye meant it for evil, but God turned it into good." It was by the providence of God, and for the good of the world, that Jesus was put to death; but that is no excuse for Judas, Caiaphas, or Pilate. If those who persecuted the early Christians had defended their cruelty on the ground that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," they would have argued just as Dr. Lord argues when he defends slavery on the ground that negroes are better off in America than they would have been in Africa. Conceivably a Christian bishop, in the third century, writing a "Letter of Inquiry to his Brother Ministers on Persecution." He might have argued that persecution is an institution of God, according to natural religion, because it tends to check the tendency of the mind to prevent, because it keeps the Church humble and pure, and restrains the tendencies to evil which prosperity always unfolds. He might also argue that it was a "positive institution of revealed religion," since Elijah, the great Prophet of God, destroyed four hundred and fifty of the priests of Baal, saying, "I will be the people of Baal, not of you." He might have argued, that to burn a man at the stake for heresy, or to throw him to the lions for being a Christian, "is not inconsistent with the law of love"; since these are mere physical facts without moral character, except in reference to the intention with which they are performed. And the intention in the one case being to prevent a soul destroying heresy, and in the other case to prevent the Roman empire from being disturbed by new religions, to persecute "from these righteous and benevolent motives is truly virtuous and commendable," and one of the methods by which good men become co-workers with God as benefactors of the world. Surely there is not an argument used by Dr. Lord in defending slavery, which might not be used with greater force in defence of pagan and papal persecutions.

Such heroics as these cure themselves. But, in the mean time, there is no doubt that they do a great deal of harm. Tending to glorify in evil, they yet produce necessarily much present evil. These writings of Dr. Lord will not strengthen slavery; but they will promote infidelity, furnish a handle to scoffers against Christianity, and tend to produce an opposite ultraism. When Dr. Lord argues that slavery is a "positive institution of revealed religion," no man will believe in slavery, but many will disbelieve in revelation. Those who defend infidelity like these out of the Bible, do so to promote infidelity rather than to do good. Voltaire, Paine, and Abner Kneeland, all together. They would Christ in the house of his friends. We should consider the risk of a young man becoming an infidel by going to hear Dr. Lord lecture greater than from attending a course of lectures by Fanny Wright or Robert Owen. For Dr. Lord is doing his best to convince the young men under his charge that the Bible teaches a system which tramples on human rights; which sells men and women and children on the auction-block; which separates husband and wife; which pollutes society, degrades labor, destroys the purity of woman; which tends to poverty and ignorance, to cruelty and violence and war; which attacks freedom of speech, of the press, of the pulpit, and of the ballot-box; and which is moving on to the sure destruction of national peace and prosperity. If the young men of Dartmouth believe in Dr. Lord's system, as they naturally will, the consequence will be that they will disbelieve the Bible. We therefore think it would be not much worse for a young man's Christianity to send him to an infidel club, than to let him go through Dartmouth College while it is under the charge of Dr. Lord.

It has been a common charge against Harvard College on account of the Unitarian opinions held by a majority of its government. Parents have been earnestly warned against sending their children to such an institution, although no one has ever been able to give a single instance of an attempt by any Cambridge Unitarian Professor on the creed of an infidel, or a lecture on Greek or Latin economy from a Unitarian, or for the same boy to be under a President who is such a fanatic for slavery, that not only in the lecture-room, but by repeated publications, he defends that institution as divinely appointed, and as an important part both of natural and revealed religion. We wish both to Dartmouth College, but rather to good, in desiring that it may be speedily relieved from the injury of having at its head a man of such extreme and bitter fanaticism. J. F. C.

#### RECEPTION OF HON. CHAS. SUMNER.

From the New York Independent.  
BOSTON, Nov. 8, 1856.  
Would that it were in my power to reproduce for your readers the scene of last Monday! It can no more be done, than the spontaneous and accumulated enthusiasm of a human multitude can be poured into an inkstand. Men who know every power and the limits of language, and whose names are known to the world, through their own mastery of it, said to one another that evening: "We are glad that our own eyes have seen this; for no report, no description, however graphic or full, could show it as it was." Charles Sumner came into Boston on a quiet errand—to drop a vote for the principles he had so eloquently advocated, and for which he had so cheerfully suffered. But he came with the united honors of a hero, a statesman, a scholar, an orator, a martyr; and it is not strange that the people met him as they did. The actual history of the preparations made to receive him would fill upon the demonstration even a more remarkable character than it bore in its appearance. Up to the middle of the preceding week, it remained almost doubtful whether he would have the physical strength to undertake the journey with any degree of safety. His medical advisers were divided in opinion as to the probable effects. His

own consistent and irrepressible determination to leave no single act undone, which could in any way promote the great end that is dearer to him than life, he overruled every objection, and on Friday it became definitely known in Boston that he might be expected. Having been carefully kept from public observation on the way, and carried from a railroad station in Dorchester to Cambridge by a private conveyance, in order that no unnecessary excitement might attend his arrival, he passed the Sabbath at Cambridge, very quietly, with his intimate and cordial friend, the poet Longfellow, as sincere a lover of liberty as himself. I have been told, that at the principal places on the Springfield and New Haven road—the route which he did not take—the sudden news of his contemplated visit had collected crowds of people, hoping to see him as he passed through. On Monday morning he was taken to the residence of A. A. Lawrence, Esq., in Brookline—a gentleman whose hospitality on this occasion was the more signal, in that he is known to be a Fillmore Whig, but whose liberal and hearty sympathy with the cause of the Free State men in Kansas has not been drawn into a moral fellowship with his distinguished guest. In the vicinity of his mansion, the country was early astir with carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians—men, women and children—many of whom joined the long procession when it moved. Of the subsequent proceedings, of the progress of the escorted eminent men through Brookline village and Roxbury, of the elevated and sterling character of those that took part in this suburban welcome, of the brilliant display at the reception at the Boston line, of the immense cavalcade that there formed and conducted the guest to the Capitol, of the signs of substantial worth and superior intelligence stamped on the faces and forms of that array of horsemen, of the hearty shouts, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and all other manifestations of joy, that enlivened the whole course of the march; of the throngs of persons of both sexes that overflowed the sidewalks and poured everybody into the streets, filled the balconies and windows, and arrayed themselves in every vacant space and courtyard; of the evergreens that were strewn in the way; of the schools of young girls that came out dressed in white and radiant with beauty; of the groups of orphan children; of the flowers that were showered incessantly from the houses of women till the cavalcade was literally heaped with bouquets; of the ingenious devices and the significant mottoes, all expressive of the dominant love of human liberty, and the reverence for human rights; of the suspension of common business and the arousing of uncommon emotions; of the singularly diversified condition and appearance, age and culture, of those that pressed up to grasp the true patriot's hand; of incidents that stirred tears by their pathos, and laughter by their simple ardor, of the indescribable pageant on Beacon street, and about the State House, when Massachusetts honored herself by advancing, in the person of her Chief Magistrate, to salute her brave son and defender at the door of her halls of legislation; of the profound and final scene at the State House, where his noble form appeared before the multitude at one window, where the pale countenance of the venerable mother—attenuated, but lofty and firm, who had waited all these weary months alone, in agonizing suspense whether her motherly arms should ever again grasp the stately form of her son—appeared at the other, amidst the deafening plaudits of the citizens; of the reluctance of the dense mass to disperse, and the final triumphant close of the whole glorious day; of all this it is not necessary, at this date, to give any elaborate account.

What was most extraordinary in this whole rejoicing and jubilee of the city was that it was purely, and throughout, the result of individual feeling. In that regard, I do not hesitate to pronounce it without precedent. Everybody knows that all great public processions are not only adorned, but actually composed, to a large extent, of organized bodies, military or naval, of fire companies, masonic and odd fellows' lodges, literary societies, or other societies, each one of which fills its ranks by a love of esprit de corps or local pride, and as well as the aggregate number. Now not a single organized body, military or other, entered into the composition of the Summer procession. Not one of the distinguished men present was a member of any place in the carriages provided, nor invited till the morning of the demonstration. Every man came because his own heart brought him. It was a simple true grand offering of men's souls to justice, to courage, to truth, to humanity, and to one of the very foremost of living men. In this view, probably no public assemblage of the country, since Washington, was ever so greeted among his neighbors.

The whole measure had a profound meaning, both as a manifestation of what is, and as an influence upon the future. It needed no unusual insight to see that as this ocean of enthusiasm rose into our streets, climbed Beacon street, dashed against all men's doors, and poured into the hall of the Capitol, with its living flood and its living voice, a certain class of the citizens were taking a lesson they had never received quite so impressively before. Depend upon it, certain gentlemen, who are too apt to measure the interests of the world by their private tastes, and to confine their sympathies to their literary culture, and their commercial advantage, saw and felt that day, as never before, to what sublime and eternal melodies the heart of the people really beats. Taken in connection with the voice of the ballot-box the day following, the demonstration inspired a new hope for the country, a firmer confidence in the united North, and thus a deeper confidence in the preservation of the Union and its blessings. At the same moment, old wrongs were partially atoned for. Mr. Sumner, for all his terrible sufferings, so infamously inflicted, so patiently borne, was then avenged—how powerfully! So Providence works out its course regarding the nation's land. Rufians and bludgeon-bearers, sprinkling their Southern blood, and insulting civilization with their infamy, see here the folly and the desperation of their crimes. We can afford to take courage. We can wait on faith.

Mr. Sumner is to recover. He has gone through two or three critical junctures, more full of peril than his physical condition would seem to warrant. The dangers of his disease have not been exaggerated, but the contrary. Yet ever since the favorable turn taken by his constitution in the mountains of Pennsylvania in August, he has been gaining steadily. Pennsylvania has served the good cause by her climate, if not by her votes. At present, every day gives new vigor to the confederate limbs, added color to the face, and more steady and more agitated nerves and pulse. His spirits are cheerful, and all his symptoms improving. The only perceptible infirmity is in the muscular and nervous systems. Good men's prayers are being answered. That there is no abatement of the wretched intellectual fire, all may know who read his speech that day, or his letters, or listen to his conversation. Every interview impresses upon one more and more deeply the incalculable worth of his services in the Senate of the United States, the ripeness of his powers, the largeness of his learning, the distinctness of his patriotism, the Christian sincerity of his soul. Unless some extraordinary hindrance occurs, the nation will find him soon at his post, ready to do fair deeds with all men, to raise his eloquent voice for the right, to forgive his enemies, to befriend the weak and oppressed, to lead the armies of a true and wise reform against all slavery, and all violence, and all corruption, and all falsehood and fraud.

Yours, TRI-MOUNTAIN.

WE respectfully submit that Mr. Sumner's true position, as an uncompromising friend of freedom, is outside of Congress, "that eagle of unclean birds" and rendezvous of Southern assassins—outside of this slaveholding and slave-hunting government—outside of the blood-stained Constitution—and outside of this doomed and three accursed Union with the South.—Ed. Lib.

FREEDOM IN NORTH CAROLINA. "We understood that one day last week at the Fair at Henderson, Granville, a Yankee pill-vender who was present, said publicly that he preferred Fremont for the Presidency, and would vote for him. Soon after he was informed by a number of gentlemen that his presence there was not agreeable, and a pretty broad hint was given of a rail and some threats, with a due application of a certain famous North Carolina product called tar. He was allowed half an hour to leave, and he took the first train of cars and came on to Franklin: where, when last seen, he exhibited indications of being frightened by the sight of his own shadow. We do not know his name, nor do we know in what direction he went.—Raleigh Standard.

## THE LIBERATOR.

### No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 21, 1856.

#### LIBERTY AND SLAVERY CONTRASTED.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH: A Statistical View of the Condition of the Free and Slave States. By HENRY CHASE, A. M., and CHARLES W. SANBORN, M. D. Compiled from Official Documents. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. 1856.

This is precisely such a compilation as we have long been wishing to see. Its object is to compare the condition of the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States—the North and the South—as to territory, population, industry and wealth, education and intelligence, religious and moral advancement, and general progress. The calculations used are the official documents of the General Government and of the individual States. These calculations are, for the most part, for the year 1850, and based on the census returns for that year, as compiled by J. D. DeBow, and published in his Compendium of the Seventh Census. It is, therefore, impartial and reliable. It demonstrates, beyond all doubt or cavil, that slavery, as an institution, viewed from whatever standpoint, is all that is implied by such terms as a cancer, a plague-spot, a mildew, a curse, &c. &c.; that there is not a redeeming feature about it; that it is the destroyer of wealth, the waster of morals, the enemy of progress in every shape; that its immediate abolition would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the South, and an immense gain to the whole country.

This work is as opportune as it is valuable. It makes its appearance at a time when a systematic attempt is making, on the part of the South, with an audacity unparalleled, and a folly only a hair's-breadth removed from incurable idiosyncrasy, to outface the intelligence and common sense of the world, the instincts of all rational souls, by declaring slavery to be in the highest degree benevolent, the most precious of all institutions, the most productive of wealth, the best safeguard against danger, the brightest ornament, and the richest treasure; and, consequently, by denouncing a free state of society as ruinous to all parties, and liberty as a curse to all who possess it. Such is the daily gibberish of the Richmond *Enquirer* and *Examiner*, the Charleston *Mercury*, the New Orleans *Delta*, and other leading journals of the South. It is a new system of tactics, on their part, to push Northern abolitionism; and it is thought by them to be "turning the tables," taking the ball by the horns, and "carrying the war into Africa." It is as though all the trumpets at the Five Points should, through journals of their own, affirm lawfulness to be the most desirable, and virtue the most lawful state of society; or all burglars, pickpockets and highway robbers should insist that, without their professional assistance, no community could long exist; or all counterfeiters, thimble-riggers and sharpers should represent themselves to be the only honest men in the community; or all half-witted or wholly denational persons should claim to be the only rational class left in an insane world. Those knaves, lunatics, or idiots, who thus attempt to glorify their bloody and brutal slave system, and to cover glorious freedom with infamy, may fancy they are thereby mightily strengthening the "peculiar institution," but none are working so effectually for its overthrow as themselves—as time will fully demonstrate.

The anti-slavery movement has hitherto found its stoutest opponents at the North among the commercial and manufacturing classes, whose regard for the "almighty dollar" is as tenacious as it is blind, and who imagine that nothing would be more disastrous, in a financial point of view, than the sudden termination of slavery at the South. These men have taken counsel of their fears, not of their reason; they have yet to give the first hour to a candid examination of the subject in its industrial and economical bearings; they are genuine know-nothings as to the workings of a slave system, and literally "pony wise, pound foolish." Political economy is neither to be studied nor acquired on 'Change. The men who know the least about it are the frequenters of State Street and Wall Street. Tell them it is righteousness that exalts a nation, and sin is a calamity to any people, and the declaration is to them without meaning. What has trade to do with righteousness? or how does sin affect the money-market? They are your shrewd, calculating, long-headed, practical business men, who are never led astray by fanaticism, who understand their own affairs, and who know what will pay. But theirs is the wisdom of the world, which is "foolishness with God." They do not know the secret of true prosperity, which lies in the strictest obedience to the law of justice, of humanity, of love; and so they reap the reward of speculators, adventurers, swindlers. Nevertheless, nothing is more sure in the universe than this—other things being equal, that community will be most prosperous and the most productive, which most closely adheres to the rule of rectitude, and most sincerely regards the rights of man. Place side by side two townships; one furnishing free schools for all—the other leaving the mass of the people without any educational facilities. Who doubts which of the two will be the better clad, better housed, and the more prosperous? Knowledge is wealth as well as power; ignorance is poor and weak. Take two communities; one adopting the total abstinence principle—the other going for moderate drinking. The former will be the richer of the two, and in all respects better off. Take two States; one with free labor, free speech, a free press, and free institutions—the other with slave labor, and all freedom suppressed. The former will far outstrip the latter in material wealth, and in all that makes life desirable. In other words, knowledge, sobriety and freedom put money in the purse, and make a people independent and happy. As these are diffused, the more will competence abound, and capital increase, and a large market be opened for trade and business generally. Truly, in the most literal sense, "Godliness bath the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come." It pays, surely, liberally, comprehensively, yet not in a mercenary sense. So, wisely did Moses counsel the Israelites to hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord their God, and to observe all his commandments, in order that they might be blessed in their basket and in their store, in the city and in the field, and in all they set their hands unto, and be made plentiful in goods, and accumulate wealth so as to "lend unto many nations," borrowing of none; and most fearfully and truly did he depict to them the consequences of disobedience, touching their safety and worldly interest. What blessings are promised in the 58th chapter of Isaiah, as accompanying the act of immediate and unconditional emancipation—breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free! Light for darkness; health for disease; the fall upon the Lord heard and answered; the old waste places rebuilt; the foundations of many generations raised up!

The work before us is crowded with evidence of the soundness of this reasoning. It is the voice of God to the South, crying, "Do thyself no harm! Why wilt thou be stricken any more? Thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help found." It shows that the path of oppression leads to ruin and death, while that of liberty is upward and onward, "from glory to glory." It illustrates the insanity of those who deprecate the liberation of the enslaved as tending to pecuniary loss and a state of anarchy; and it speaks trumpet-tongued in favor of universal freedom. Examine its tables; read its statements; marvel at its facts! It ought to be in every counting-room, in every workshop, in the hands of every artisan, operative and day laborer, to be studied with all diligence, and reverently accepted like a fresh revelation from Heaven.

We avail ourselves of some of its numerous facts, to confirm what we have said of its value, and the instructive lesson it teaches.

In 1790, the Free States had only 7000 more inhabitants than the Slave States. In 1850, they had 3,822,158 (almost four millions) more than the latter—notwithstanding \$7,000,000 inhabitants were added to the South by the annexation of Louisiana and Florida, and a large population by the annexation of Texas; and notwithstanding the South has 239,000 square miles of territory more than the North, and her soil is incomparably more fertile.

The average number of inhabitants to a square mile, in the Slave States, is 11.28, and in the Free States, 21.93; almost two to one.

By the census of 1850, more than two thirds of the entire population of the Union will be found in the Free States.

The whole number of slaveholders, (less than 350,000), including females and minors, counting them all as voters, are less than the number of freemen who voted at the Presidential election in 1852, in either Pennsylvania or Ohio!

The number of slaves annually sold from the Northern Slave States to the Southern is not less than 25,000.

The slaves have a representation in Congress (for the exclusive benefit of their tyrannical masters) equal to that of New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

The free population of the whole fifteen Slave States is slightly more than that of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts; yet the latter have only sixty-nine, while the former have ninety representatives.

The aggregate vote of eleven Slave States, in 1852, was less than that of the single State of New York; and yet these States are entitled to seventy-nine electoral votes, and New York to only thirty-five. Pennsylvania and New York cast a popular vote larger, by more than 60,000, than all the Slave States; yet the former have only sixty-two electoral votes, while the latter have one hundred and twenty!

In the North, 93,296 freemen and 16,101 voters are required to elect a representative to Congress. In the South, only 17,251 freemen and 8,976 voters.

Including only the lands under cultivation in the two sections, the value per acre in the North is more than three times that of the South. Including the whole area, the proportion is still larger.

The value per acre of land in the States, on the dividing line between freedom and slavery, is very suggestive—thus, in the Free State, the value of farms per acre is as follows, viz:—New Jersey, \$14.67; Pennsylvania, 27.27; Ohio, 19.99; Indiana, 10.66; Illinois, 7.99. Average, \$22.17.

In the border Slave States the value is as follows, viz:—Delaware, \$19.75; Maryland, 18.81; Virginia, 8.27; Kentucky, 9.03; Missouri, 4.19; Alabama, 5.39; Arkansas, 5.87; Texas, 1.44; Mississippi, 5.22. Average, \$8.74.

Again—take those Slave States which, by position, population, or intercourse, feel least the influence of the Free States. Thus, the value of farms per acre is, in North Carolina, \$3.24; South Carolina, 1.32; Tennessee, 5.16; Florida, 3.97; Georgia, 4.19; Alabama, 5.39; Arkansas, 5.87; Texas, 1.44; Mississippi, 5.22. Average, \$8.74.

In the Free States, the number of acres in farms is 108,199,522; agricultural product, \$858,634,334; product per acre, \$7.94.

In the Slave States, the number of acres in farms and plantations, 180,572,392; agricultural product, \$681,277,417; product per acre, \$3.49. And this, notwithstanding almost the entire labor of these States is expended upon agriculture, while the labor of the Free States is largely absorbed in a multiplicity of other industrial pursuits.

In the Free States, the whole number engaged in agriculture in 1850 was 2,609,126; value of agricultural products, \$858,634,334; value per head, \$342.

In the Slave States, the whole number of free population engaged in agriculture in 1850 was 1,197,649; number of slaves engaged in agriculture, 2,500,000; total 3,697,649. Value of agricultural products, \$681,277,417; value per head, \$171.

This, then, is the grand result in the department of agriculture, the peculiar province of the South—as shown by the Census Compendium of De Bow, who, if not a slaveholder, is wholly with the South in his slavery feelings—

The North, with half as much land under cultivation, and two thirds as many persons engaged in farming, produces two hundred and twenty-seven millions of dollars worth of agricultural products in a year more than the South; twice as much on an acre, and more than double the value per head for every person engaged in farming! And this, while the South, paying nothing for his labor, has better land, a monopoly of cotton, rice, cane sugar, and nearly so of tobacco and hemp, and a climate granting two, and sometimes three crops in a year.

Here is another striking fact—The value of lands per acre in the counties of the Slave States adjoining the Free is greater than that of the remaining counties of their respective States. The opposite is true, generally, of the border counties of the Free States. Thus, the effects of freedom and slavery on the value of the adjacent lands is reversed. The neighborhood of slavery lessens their value in the Free States; the neighborhood of freedom increases it in the Slave States. Take an extent in this true, that, in Virginia, for example, the lands in counties naturally poor, are, by the proximity of freedom, rendered more valuable than those unacquainted lands in the better portions of the State. Indeed, the table shows the fact that the lands in the border counties of the Slave States are worth more per acre than the remaining lands in the same States, with the addition of the value of the whole number of their slaves, at \$400 a head. And this, be it remembered, while the value of lands in the balance of the counties of the border Slave States is double that of the lands in the Slave States not adjacent to the Free. It is for the interest of the Slave States to be hedged in by a circle of Free States. If Tennessee had been a Free State, her lands would have been worth as much as those of Ohio—\$19.99 per acre, instead of \$5.16 as now—and who cannot see that, in that event, the lands of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia would have been worth more per acre than the same of 3.24, 1.40, 4.19, respectively? Not only could Tennessee afford to sacrifice the whole value of her slaves for the sake of freedom, but even North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia could afford to sacrifice the whole value of their own slaves, and pay for all the slaves in Tennessee, for the sake of having a free neighbor. The increased value of lands would more than compensate for the sacrifice.

The figures show that Tennessee could afford, for the sake of freedom, to sacrifice the whole value of her quarter of million of slaves, and pay in addition the sum of \$185,749,446. For the sake of a free neighbor, and to bring up their lands to the value of those of Maryland, the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, could afford to sacrifice the whole of their own slaves, pay for those of Tennessee, and make \$439,668,405 by the bargain—which sum is considerably more than twice the value of all their lands. Now, these States could afford to send off, singly, every slave within their limits, in a coach with two horses, and provisions for a year, if they could but bring up the value of their lands to that of the land in northern Maryland. Indignation, and patriotism, and dissolution of the Union, indeed, if a fugitive now and then be not reclaimed; South Carolina could afford to pay every year more money than she spent in the whole Revolutionary war, to make her whole number of slaves fugitives; and then make money enough by the transaction to fence the whole State with a picket fence, to prevent their return.

In manufactures, the North has more than twenty times, in tonnage owned in 1855 three times, and in tonnage built in the same year three hundred and fifty times as much as the South. The "tonnage built" in 1855, in respectable South Carolina, consisted of one schooner of sixty-one tons burden! This is since the sitting of several Southern Conventions, in which they resolved to have an extensive commerce of their own, not only with Europe, but with Brazil and Central America!

As to education, the New England figures are twenty times as large as those of Carolina.

Here are the results of a comparison between fourteen counties in Virginia of area equal to the State of Massachusetts:—In the former, acres of improved lands in 1850, 1,533,502; in the latter, 2,133,436. In the former, acres of unimproved lands, 1,852,056; in the latter, 1,222,576. In the former, cash value of farms, \$19,080,472; in the latter, \$109,076,847! In the former, cash value per acre, \$6.41; in the latter, \$22.50! In the former, value of agricultural products, \$6,224,329; in the latter, \$11,003,887. In the former, value of manufactures, \$3,504,885; in the latter, \$151,342,478! In the former, tonnage owned, 55,051; in the latter, 970,727! In the former, amount of tonnage built in 1855, 2,171; in the latter, 79,620! In the former, pupils in colleges, academies, and private schools, 1,292; in the latter, 14,479. In the former, scholars in the public schools, 7,892; in the latter, 176,475!

How astonishing is this contrast! How odious and destructive is slavery!

But there are only specimens of the large amount of statistical information embodied in this most valuable work—a work that alone should suffice to revolutionize the country, and unite as one man the entire North for the extinction of the hideous slave system, and the consequent overthrow of the Slave Power.

Correspondence—New York Tribune.

MORE BORDER-RUFFIAN OUTRAGES—SUFFERINGS OF THE FREE-STATE SETTLERS—GOV. GEARY A LIAR.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Nov. 5, 1856.

Being ahead of your regular correspondence in receipt of the following intelligence, and being also desirous that you should be kept well posted on all matters relative to Kansas and the struggles of the Free State men, I, without preface, send it you.

A Mr. Redfield, who came in with the party under Mr. Eldridge, and who, with some twenty others, have taken claims on the Potawatomie River, arrived here to-day, with a report that their settlement was nightly disturbed and annoyed by incursions of Missouri and Georgians who are lingering about the neighborhood of Bull Creek, endeavoring, by a series of insults and outrages, not amounting to an actual assault, to discourage the Free-State men, and make them abandon their claims.

Mr. Redfield took back a quantity of arms and ammunition for distribution among his men, so that it is quite probable that the diabolism of these southern men yet cost them dear.

On Saturday last, a company of these Georgians, styling with a pro-slavery man by the name of Jones, living on the Santa Fe road, assailed, wantonly and without any provocation, a Mr. Sutton (Free State), who was working peacefully on his claim—shot at him, and drove him from his house, where they left him with threats of murder.

Afterward, on the same day, this same party of Georgians met a man (whose name escaped my memory) going to Westport for a load of provisions, whom, on learning that he was opposed to the admission of Kansas as a slave State, one of them immediately shot the ball entering his back, near the region of the spinal column, and coming out just below his heart. He is not yet dead, but lingering in excruciating agony.

The Committee have opened routes in Lawrence for the distribution of the clothing and provisions sent on here from the East. It falls to my lot to assist in their distribution, and I can assure you that I have never had my heart so sickened, with sorrow as at the evidence of suffering and wretchedness and murder, and destruction of their little all, by the onsets of these more than devils. Some have lived on baked squash, others alone on pumpkins, some on green corn ground in coffee-mills, and some have been driven from their homes, and have had to take refuge in the woods.

Most of these applicants are exceedingly intelligent, and some whose tatters rustle in the wind are so highly educated that they would do no discredit to the most polished and gifted circles.

For God's sake, Messrs. Editors, do all you can to induce the North to send more food and clothing!

The infamous Clark, murderer of Barber, passed through our town to-day, escorted by about twenty dragoons, the despicable wretch being too much afraid "to come among us alone," as it is that "the wicked feed when no man pursueth."

Fifteen other of the prisoners at Leecompton were acquitted yesterday, eight of whom were, however, re-arrested, on the charge of having assisted in the destruction of Free State houses. The whole reached Lawrence came in to-day for change of clothing—noble fellows, all of them—yet, in consequence of being so badly treated in such a filthy hole as their prison at Leecompton, they were, physically, about the most loathsome and abhorrent set of men I have ever seen—a fact which needs no comment.

About a week since, Mr. Geary was in the region of Oswatimie, he gave Martin White, the assassin of Frederick Brown, half a dozen dragoons, that he (White) might assist him in his arrests of Free State men, who are guilty of no earthly crime save that of retaking from the pro-slaveryites the property of which they have been robbed. This is pacification with a vengeance!

ANTI-SLAVERY DRAMAS.

The reading of anti-slavery dramas, during the coming lecturing season, bids fair to be of no inconsiderable service to the cause of freedom. Wm. Wells Brown has recited, during the past month, in several places in Plymouth county, the drama written by himself, entitled "Experience; or, How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone." So numerous are the calls, that Mr. Brown has relinquished his agency, and will devote his time to giving his lectures and the reading of his dramas. Already he has more than twenty engagements to give his recitation before lyceums and independent courses. The drama cannot fail to do good, for it gives an excellent idea of the workings of the "peculiar institution," as far as it deals with it. Mr. Brown has also finished another drama, which he intends reading before the public.

A WORD RHYTH-ORIGINAL ENLIGHTENMENT. The letter of Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, which occupies so large a portion of our first page, is characteristically egotistical, and as perverse in its statements as it is suicidal in the policy it recommends the South to pursue. It deserves notice only as it emanates from an original nullifier, and represents that class of free-traders in Carolina, which is always threatening to blow "our glorious Union" to atoms, if its impudent demands and profligate claims are not instantly complied with by the timid and yielding North. Not one of Mr. Rhett's accusations against the North can be sustained by a particle of evidence; but they are all true of the South, as demonstrated by her uniform temper and conduct towards the North. His talk about a dissolution of the Union is "empty as the whistling wind"; for he knows that such an event will be the death-warrant of the slave system. But the Slave Power is bent on new acquisitions, and the North must be again terrified into submission. "Let the Union slide."

"THE HUMORS OF FALCONBRIDGE." A collection of humorous and every-day scenes, by Jonathan F. Kelly, is now in press, and will be issued about the first of December, by T. B. Peterson, Philadelphia. It is illustrated by numerous mirth-provoking representations of every-day city scenes. Advanced copies, one volume, bound in cloth, for \$1.25, or in paper covers, two volumes, for \$1.00, can be had, free of postage, by sending to T. B. Peterson, No. 102 Chesnut street, Philadelphia.

THE DUNELMINE BANQUET. A complimentary banquet to Hon. Anson Burlingame will take place on Monday evening next, in Faneuil Hall, and promises to be a very successful affair. Messrs. Sumner, Wilson, and Hale, together with other distinguished speakers, have been invited to be present. Tickets will be laid for about one thousand persons. The plate is two dollars each.

My dear friend, You must know what I feel about this one so endeared to me as you are. I have trusted by me as few men on earth are, and I have been a part of a century of personal acquaintance with you, and I have seen you in all your sweet and blessed converse, I need not tell you that my eyes are blinded by tears as I say this to you. But can I say less? By your own assertion, must I not conclude that you have foreseen that the tendency of your vote must be to

## IMPORT OF A VOTE FOR FREMONT.

THE LAST DAY—A NORTHERN EDITORIAL.

TO SAMUEL J. MAY: My DEAR FRIEND:—Yours of Oct. 1







## POETRY.

From the Western Reserve Chronicle.  
KANSAS LAWS.

BY CROAKER.

'An Act to punish offences against Slave Property.'

SEC. I.

Be it enacted by our noble band  
Of Border Ruffians, (bowie-knife in hand,) That should a sneaking Yankee from the East  
Come here, and dare to meddle, in the least,  
With any of our niggers, and incite  
The darkeys to resist our sacred right;  
Then, whether they be niggers black as night,  
Or those in whom we see a little white,  
Whether they wear the chains of slavery,  
Or have the sad misfortune to be free,  
Any Missourian, happening to be here,  
May cut that Yankee's throat from ear to ear.

SEC. II.

If Northern whites, pretending to be free,  
Shall aid our slaves to gain their liberty,  
Or furnish rifle, cannon, shot, or shell,  
To help them send their masters back to hell,  
Then some good friend of order and of law,  
Around the traitor's necks the hemp shall draw.

SEC. III.

If any Yankee, in this Territory,  
Shall circulate an abolition story,  
That tends to make the happy, well-fed slave  
Begin to think his master is a knave;  
And when he feels the lash, to snarl and pout,  
Until, at length, he ceases to doubt  
Our right to trade in human flesh and bones;  
Then brave Stringfellow, or the gallant Jones,  
Or Atchison, or any man of note,  
May cut his cursed anti-slavery throat.

SEC. IV.

If any notion-peddler shall induce  
A nigger from his master to cut loose,  
And sloop for Canada—shall aid his flight,  
And thus deprive the master of his right—  
Shall coax the silly darkey thus to flee,  
With horrible intent to make him free,  
He shall be guilty of Grand Larceny;  
And, if we catch him, on a galloping horse,  
Th' infernal abolitionist shall die,  
Or toil ten years in prison, with a throng  
Of thieves and robbers, should he live so long.

# 'WORDS OF FAITH.'

Translated by William H. Channing from the German of Schiller.

Three words I utter of princely worth;  
They are the wide world's treasure,  
Yet never on earth had their birth,  
And the spirit their depth must measure;  
Man is raised—poor—fallen—  
When his faith in these words is gone.

Man is free created—is free—  
Though his cradle may be a prison;  
Mobs are no plea for tyranny,  
Nor noble heret of reason.  
Fear not the free man; but tremble first  
Before the slave when his chain is burst.

And virtue,—is virtue an empty sound?  
Man's life is to follow her teaching;  
Fall as he may on the earth's rough ground,  
To the godlike he still may be reaching.  
What never the wise by his wisdom can be,  
The childlike becomes in simplicity.

And God, in holy, eternal love,  
Reigns, when humanity falters;  
Through limitless being his energies move;  
His purpose of good never alters;  
Though changes may circle all matter and time,  
God dwells in the peace of perfection sublime.

Oh, trust in these words of mightiest power;  
They are the wide world's treasure;  
Through ages they've been man's richest dower,  
And the spirit their depth must measure.  
Never is man of good bereft,  
If faith in these words be left.

# THE THREE VOICES.

What saith the Past to thee? Weep!  
Truth is departed,  
Beauty hath died like the dream of a sleep,  
Love is faint-hearted;  
Scars of sense, the profoundly unreal,  
Tears from our spirits God's holy ideal;  
So, as a funeral-bell, slow and deep,  
So tolls the past to thee. Weep!

How speaks the Present Hour? Act!  
Walk, upward glancing,  
So shall thy footsteps in glory be tracked,  
Slow, but advancing,  
Scorn not the smallest of daily endeavor,  
Let the great meaning enable it ever,  
Drop not o'er the efforts expended in vain—  
Work as believing that labor is gain.

What doth the Future say? Hope!  
Turn thy face upward,  
Look where light fringes the far rising slope,  
Day comes onward,  
Watch! though so long be the twilight delaying,  
Let the first sunbeam arise on these praying;  
Fear not! for greater is God by thy side,  
Than the armies of Satan against thee allied.

# THE STATUE OF FRANKLIN IN BOSTON.

BY JAMES T. FIELDS.

Give welcome to the sculptured form!  
Art's splendid triumph here is won;  
Thus let it stand, in light and storm,  
Our sea-girt city's greatest son.  
His lineage sprang from honest toil,  
Swift labor trained his youthful hand;  
High with the brave who freed our soil,  
Where first he breathed, let FRANKLIN stand.

His genius stamped the Press with power;  
His glance the glowing future saw;  
His science curbed the fiery shower;  
His wisdom stood with Peace and Law.  
The world his story long has shrined—  
To Fame his spotless deeds belong—  
His homely Truth, his ample Mind,  
His Saxon heart of Human Wrong.  
Room for the grey-haired patriot-age!  
For here his genial life began—  
Thus let him look from age to age,  
And prompt new Thought ennobling Man.

# PROVIDENCE.

Just as a mother, with sweet pious face,  
Years towards her little children from her seat,  
Gives one a kiss, another an embrace,  
Takes this upon her knees, that on her feet;  
And while from actions, looks, complaints, pretences,  
She learns their feelings and their various wills,  
To this a look, to that a word, dispenses,  
And, whether stern or smiling, loves them still—  
So Providence for us, high, infinite,  
Makes our necessities its watchful task,  
Hearkens to all our prayers, helps all our wants,  
And, even if it denies what seems our right,  
Either denies because 'twould have us ask,  
Or seems but to deny, or in denying grants.

LEIGH HUNT.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## FORMATION OF FREEDOM CLUBS.

Boston, Nov. 11th, 1856.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Now that the election is over, and men begin to relapse into the regular treadmill channels of business, it is worth while for those of us who feel a real interest in the subject of slavery to look about and see what can be done next. For the first time, the naked subject of freedom or slavery, divested of all questions of bank or tariff, which have been wont to envelop the platform of political parties, has been presented to the people; and it is to me a most encouraging sign of the times, that we have a majority of all the intelligent voters of the free States on the side of freedom. Great interest is felt in the subject; throughout New England, particularly, it is the theme of conversation everywhere. On the steamboat, in the railroad car, and in the business mart, wherever you see a knot of men conversing with earnestness, you can guess with a tolerable degree of certainty at the subject of their remarks.

It seems to me that this awakened state of the public mind ought to be encouraged; that the important subject of freedom every where ought to be constantly agitated, until slavery is abolished. It is for the purpose of making a suggestion as to the means of doing this, that I ask a little space in THE LIBERATOR.

I wish to suggest the formation in every New England village of a Freedom Club, for the discussion of every subject affecting in any way the real interest of that large class of our fellow-beings whose groans are accusing us of wickedness every day that slavery is permitted in the Union. Let these clubs take broad and liberal ground, let woman be admitted to them on a full equality with man, and the only condition of membership be, a real devotion to the cause. I know it will not be easy to start a club of this kind in villages which contain but few anti-slavery men, but we must not ask whether it is easy, only whether it is desirable. If the work is a good one, never let us doubt that it can be accomplished. Let any who doubt, look at the noble result of your labors, in the face of every obstacle.

This, it is true, is only one mode in which we can labor for the cause. Much can be done by individual effort. Let every man who hates slavery take every opportunity to bear his testimony against it. We do not know how great fruits some little word of truth may bear.

I know of one club already forming for the objects I have indicated, and if you think the subject worth a place in THE LIBERATOR, I may hereafter give you some account of its doings.

In concluding, I desire to express the highest esteem I entertain for you, for your noble devotion to the cause of the down-trodden. I do not agree with you that the cause of the slave can best be subserved by withholding our votes, but I honor you for your unswerving fidelity to your convictions.

# LABORS IN MICHIGAN.

Ypsilanti, (Mich.) Nov. 4, 1856.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to you to hear some little account of my journeyings and labors in this Western State.

I have been in this region about four weeks, and have spoken whenever and wherever I could find opportunity for the down-trodden. I aim as much as possible to make my way into the back towns and counties of the State, where the Gospel of Freedom has not been often preached. You would be rejoiced, I am sure, my dear friend, could you witness the interest which is manifested to hear upon the subject of universal emancipation.

I am sorry to say that I find in some places a new obstacle in our pathway, in the form of modern Spiritualism. I have just attended a meeting of Spiritualists, in company with a good friend of our cause, Samuel Moore, which held its sessions for two days. Samuel Moore announced me to the meeting as a Spiritualist, and as a lecturer upon the different reforms of the day, mentioning Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights in particular, and asked if there would be freedom in that meeting for any one to speak, as he or she might feel impressed. Immediately the assent was given, and the meeting was pronounced free. Several persons gathered about me, one suggesting that I submit myself to spirit influence immediately. I told them that I made no preparation to that effect, but if they would give me their attention, I would like to speak in my normal state. I then stated that for any thing I should say in that meeting, I should be responsible, and that unless perfect freedom was given, I could not address them. They said the meeting was free to preach God, Christ, and Spiritualism. But, said I, my Christ may not be your Christ—my spiritualism may be of the kind that works for humanity rather than God. This definition caused some little sensation, and some of the leading Spiritualists were quite disturbed, hoping that no one would be so unwise as to speak upon any subject which should disturb the harmony of the meeting. Another thought it would be very wrong to touch upon politics in a religious meeting. Slavery, and the oppression of woman, were political matters entirely, and in a spiritual meeting, quite out of place. What they wished to do was to build up Spiritualism, and the spirits would take care of all other things. 'Why,' said one, 'would you set the negroes all free, in their ignorance? The spirit says it would not do.' So, my friend, I found that Spiritualism, like Congregationalism, and Methodism, and Churchism of all kinds, could not speak for human freedom, so earnest is it to build up a sectarism.

This meeting was in the town of Dundee, some 24 miles from Ypsilanti. I hope that I shall find a different kind of Spiritualism as I pass along through the State.

I had a very good audience in that region, after the Spiritualist meeting adjourned, who listened to me upon the subject of Woman's Rights, and next Sunday I expect to speak upon Slavery in the same vicinity.

Yours for the truth,

LUCY N. COLMAN.

# A RECENT TOUR IN OHIO. NO. II.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

So much has been written during the past few years in commendation of the enterprise and prosperity of the colored citizens of Cincinnati, as to leave no niche for me to occupy other than a hearty endorsement of the tributes thus bestowed.

Ball's magnificent Daguerrean Saloons are yet in the ascendant. One of the partners is now pursuing the business in the Pantheon Buildings, London.

Henry Boyd's extensive Furniture Factory and Warehouse is another noticeable establishment. It occupies buildings on both sides of the street, and furnishes employment to fifty-two hands, colored and white, who, with the assistance of steam power, manufacture every description of cabinet and upholstery work. Such is the present position of the proprietor, who was once a slave in Kentucky.

R. S. Duncanson's studio contains many productions from his pencil, both portrait and landscape, well worthy the attention of artists and connoisseurs. His most recent composition, 'The Land of Beulah,' on which he has been engaged for eighteen months, is 45 feet by 6, and is so happy in conception, so admirable in detail and embodiment, that the spectator almost imagines himself actually in the scene it portrays. A plan was in progress for its exhibition and disposal by shares—it being valued at \$1000. The friends of the artist are anticipating a triumph beyond this, however, in a series he is about commencing, in which will be blended some of the beauties of the 'Garden of Eden,' presented by him to Charles Avery, Esq., of Allegheny City.

Two colored men are proprietors of a large coal yard. Two others have proved themselves such excellent coop-

ers, that they have been solicited to vacate their own shop and accept situations with white fellow-craftsmen, where such an innovation a short time since would have been impossible.

One firm is competing successfully in the business of pickling and preserving epicurean articles for exportation.

Colored marketmen and grocers are quite a feature in Cincinnati.

John L. Gaines, as a business man and a public-spirited citizen, has long exerted a leading and acknowledged influence among his brethren.

An association of ladies was conducting a Fair in aid of the Attacks Blues, a colored military company. A splendid silk presentation banner spread its one lady folds to the gaze of visitors, alluding to which, one lady patroness, after expressing to me a degree of satisfaction with the organization and its objects, yet confessed her regret that the American flag afforded no protection to the colored man. In substance, she embodied the graphic lines of Campbell:—

'The white man's liberty in types  
Stands blazoned by your stars;  
But what's the meaning of your stripes?  
They mean your negroes' scars!'

The fact that a colored soldier, named in honor of Crispus Attucks, (a colored man, be it remembered, and the first martyr in the Revolution,) can now, in 1856, peacefully parade the streets of Cincinnati, without a stone's throw of the slavery-cursed soil of Kentucky, stands out in vivid and bold contrast with the trial hour of 1836. From that time to 1844, scarcely a year passed that Cincinnati was not disgraced by mobs against the colored people and their white friends. 'Presses and types were thrown into the river, other property seized and destroyed, and persons maltreated, the wild mob spirit being at times so general and strong as to defy law, and hold possession of the city for several days.'

I became acquainted with some prominent colored citizens whose prowess during several of these outbreaks saved many families from outrage and violence. These mobs were instigated by Northern men, who, with 'South-side views,' deemed knowledge in the head, the love of liberty in the heart, and weapons in the hands, as a combination of elements altogether too dangerous to be possessed by colored Americans. But since then, a redeeming spirit has been visible in this as in other portions of the States, and its influence has so warmed into action the colored men and women also, that their record now is indeed one to be proud of, exhibiting as it does mechanical ingenuity, artistic skill, business attainments, moral development and mental refinement, in a degree not surpassed by any State in the Union, an example to those other States where colored citizens are basking in the sunshine of equal suffrage and its consequent advantages.

Anthony Burns's elasticity of spirit, when participating as a freeman and a brother in the Oberlin-Fremont procession, as contrasted with the expression of sadness and despair depicted on his countenance as the organized mob of Boston military and officials dragged him down State street, en route to slavery, was no less significant than has been the change wrought in the public sentiment of this nation, as a gratifying result of that 'floodlight of preaching,' which for the last twenty-five years has characterized the radical anti-slavery movement.

Next to positive measures for the abolition of slavery, the early friends of the cause pledged themselves to 'improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.' A persevering application of this same method, at this crisis in public affairs, imperatively demands.

See how readily the free North, as she is called, proscribes her colored citizens! There are but five New England States where they can exercise the elective franchise. Twenty-two thousand, in the single State of New Jersey, are not allowed to approach the ballot-box, and this prerogative of citizenship is denied to 62,000 in Pennsylvania. In Connecticut, the land of Blue Laws and steady habits, 7000 are yet excluded. New York exacts of the colored man the possession of \$250 worth of real estate as the condition of voting—a right so freely enjoyed and highly appreciated by a right white citizen, irrespective of the crime that gave him birth. Indeed, we expect that no colored man shall enter or settle within her borders under heavy penalties—the sentence thus collected to be appropriated to colonizing him in Africa. Recently, seven colored men were arrested in Illinois under her Black Laws, which render them liable to be sold, or, if fines are extorted, they are placed in the charity fund for the relief of white paupers. At the recent election in Ohio, one colored citizen, an industrious mechanic and worthy man, possessing, too, the requisite proportion of aristocratic blood, being ready to verify his right, was not allowed to deposit his ballot. The satanic press has been loud in denunciation of even his attempt to exercise a freeman's right.

Colored citizens have just been refused passports to foreign countries by the Assistant Secretary of State, and yet the precedent had been established in their favor by the granting of a passport, in the year 1834, to Robert Purvis, in 1836, to Rev. Peter Williams, and to some others more recently. But American proslavery and colorphobia care nothing for precedent or right; it substitutes expedience for the one, and might for the other.

The colored citizens of Massachusetts, although more favored than those of every sister State, are yet proscribed by a statute military clause, and their names withheld from the jury roll. But these obstacles to their complete realization of citizenship will soon melt away under liberal legislation, as will also those of greater magnitude in the States designated, if the friends of humanity, of whatever stripe or party, will but unite and manifest that sincerity of purpose, like the ancient Romans, with whom to proclaim war was to insure a triumph, to invade was to conquer.

The colored American confidently relies upon the aid of his friends, but will be ever zealous and progressive himself. His appeal to the community is not in the language of favor seeking, but 'Give us our rights—we ask nothing more.'

Boston, November, 1856. W. C. N.

# 'A GRATEFUL NEGRO.'

[Boston correspondence of the N. Y. Independent.]

Not long ago, many of the clergy here were invited to meet Mr. Jonathan Cross, superintendent of colportage, was at the North collected funds for the Tract Society, he was publicly caressed in various places on the condition of the slaves in the South. On one occasion he was asked, among other questions, what the negro thought of his own position. He replied by mentioning the case of an old servant in North Carolina, more than a hundred years old, who had been brought from Africa in his youth, and converted to the Christian religion in this country, and who, every time he said his prayers, poured forth his devout gratitude that he had been stolen away from a heathen land.

Now this Democratic text certainly needs exegesis. Does it mean that the stealing of men is a practice of such immense and overbalancing evangelical utility, as to take it out of the category of common thefts, and make it a matter of devout

thanksgiving? If it does not mean this, what does it mean? The popular superstition has been hitherto, that it was even worse to rob a man of his liberty and of himself, than to rob him of his property or of his umbrell. But it is to be re-

formed. The organ of Democracy says that notion is all a fallacy. It is the pocket-books and the overcoats that make plunder a crime. Steal away the whole live man, body and soul, crowd him between decks, let his wife and children shriek after him on the shore, whip him to unpaid toil, drive to a total subjection of his independence, educate him to ignorance, reform him to vice, convert him to moral and intellectual degradation,—and this will elevate crime to virtue! This will transfigure theft into a sacrament! This will turn piracy into piety! Stealing a man's wife from a Democratic household sends a fellow to the House of Correction. Stealing a human being away from a heathen land canonizes him, and transports him to Paradise. Larceny of spoons sends people to prison. Larceny of a child of God sends them to the places of thanksgiving and praise. Let the temple gates be thrown open, for those to ascend into the hill of the Lord, who have hunted, kidnapped, and sold their black brothers and sisters! Let the Gloria in Excelsis arise for the Pentecostal seasons of the middle passage! Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, by having iron put on them to prevent their owners from plunging into the sea, in the agony and despair of their calamities! When a slave-ship comes into a Southern port, discharges her human cargo, and is scuttled and sunk, to put her out of sight, ought not a 'note of thanks' to Divine Providence to be read in the metropolitan churches? An anthem should certainly be written,—as soon as the rehabilitation of art and science, we have seen so much of, take place in the slaveholding States,—celebrating the Christian beneficence of the slave-trade,—having for its key-note the testimony of this superannuated victim of the stupefying influence of bondage,—to be rolled over the plains and hills of 'free America,' and swelling into a 'general hymn of joy.' When one of your fast clipper at New York is fully equipped for the business, with all the implements of confinement and torture, ought not the pro-slavery clergy to go down, and hold a farewell missionary service on board, previous to her setting sail, on her voyage of liberty and love? At the very least, see the absurdity of anybody's ever speaking of human emancipation as an evil again; or of imagining that the slaves feel anything but holy comfort and religious complacency at their own position: 'for has not one hundred years old,' poured forth his devout gratitude that he was 'stolen' from heathendom into a thievish Christendom!

# APPALLING CASUALTY.

The British Banner of Oct. 24th, has an account running through from three to four columns, giving a narrative sketch of a late fearful calamity at the Surrey Gardens. The Banner says:—

'The friends of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon had taken the large concert-hall for four Sunday evenings; and the first service was arranged to be held on Sunday night last. It appears that as early as five o'clock, one hour and a half before the time announced for the services to commence, thousands of well-dressed persons, including a large number of children, could be seen wending their way towards the gardens.'

At six o'clock the doors were opened, and the hall, including the various balconies and side galleries, was speedily filled. The outer gates were thrown open, and the throngs of people poured in, filling the gardens and also the adjoining streets. By five minutes after six o'clock the whole of the three spacious galleries were filled: the orchestra was also densely crowded. By the time Mr. Spurgeon took his seat, notwithstanding the immense size of the place, there was not sufficient room for all those who had come to the service. Some of the people were obliged to stand in the passages, and there were considerably more standing on the green sward outside looking through the windows.

At about half-past six, Mr. Spurgeon ascended the pulpit, which had been specially erected at the west end of the hall, and before the time announced for the services to commence, thousands of well-dressed persons, including a large number of children, could be seen wending their way towards the gardens. At six o'clock the doors were opened, and the hall, including the various balconies and side galleries, was speedily filled. The outer gates were thrown open, and the throngs of people poured in, filling the gardens and also the adjoining streets. By five minutes after six o'clock the whole of the three spacious galleries were filled: the orchestra was also densely crowded. By the time Mr. Spurgeon took his seat, notwithstanding the immense size of the place, there was not sufficient room for all those who had come to the service. Some of the people were obliged to stand in the passages, and there were considerably more standing on the green sward outside looking through the windows.

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As before stated, all the galleries were densely crowded, and of course the occupants of that part of the hall were as much excited and alarmed as those on the basement. When the cry was raised, an immediate rush was made to the staircase, which soon became thronged. The people in the people in the first gallery at the north-west tower of the building was so great that those nearest to the staircase were driven out by those pressing behind with such terrible force, that the iron banisters, which were fixed into the stone staircase, and supported by a thick masonry rail, were torn from their sockets, and the people, in their agony, precipitated between fifty and sixty persons down the side of the staircase on the crowd below, killing some instantly, and fearfully wounding others.

Cries and shrieks at this period were truly terrible, to which were added the already pent-up excitement of those who had not been able to make their exit. They passed on, trading furiously over the dead and dying, tearing frantically at each other. Hundreds had their clothes torn from their backs in their endeavors to escape, masses of men and women were driven down and trampled over by the weight of the crowd, and many women appeared to care not for women, and men appeared equally callous of their own sex, one object only appearing to fill the mind of all—that of self-preservation. Some climbed over the galleries, and dropped upon the heads of those beneath them, others smashed out the windows, vainly endeavoring to escape by jumping out, to the injury of those below. All this time the pressure from those behind became greater and greater: many who would not otherwise have been injured were crushed by the surrounding multitude. Women and even strong men fainted, dropped upon the floor, and were trampled over by those following them.

Notwithstanding the number that had fallen from the gallery, the crowd still pressed on to the staircase, and had it not been for the providential circumstance that there was an iron pillar supporting the end of the gallery, the loss of life must have been most awful. While this scene of devastation and terror was proceeding at the north-west end of the building, and other horrors were being enacted at all other outlets.

As soon as the shrieks of the unfortunate creatures who were suffering inside were heard by those who had obtained ingress into the hall, they made a desperate rush for the outer gates; but by a strange arrangement, they could find no means of getting outside the gates, they having been firmly closed, to prevent the great crowd, which had been outside all the evening, from entering the gardens. Men, women and children were drawn and thrown over the iron railings, many of them being seriously injured in consequence. As soon as it was known by those outside that a terrible accident had occurred, the wildest rumors prevailed.

By this time, the greater portion of the audience had escaped from the hall, and of course, with all precipitancy, made for the street. Those who had seen the scene through the windows, and who were assisted in bringing out their more unfortunate friends and companions, which at once relieved the fact of the sad calamity to those outside, who, as quickly as possible, made their way toward the building, for the purpose of seeking their relatives and friends. All those who had the power to do

so had now left the hall, and only the dead, dying and wounded were to be seen.

A large body of police, under the direction of Mr. Superintendent Lord, had arrived, and rendered every assistance in their power. Such as were not too badly wounded were at once conveyed in cabs to their own dwellings; others, through the kindness of the inhabitants of Penton street, Amelia street, Carter street and Manor street, were received and promptly attended to by the medical men in the neighborhood.

Of the wounded, it is impossible to give the nature of the injuries, or to state in how many death is likely to supervene. They amount in number, it is supposed, to about fifty.

The number of the dead is not definitely stated. We have seen nothing paralleling the above, since a similar casualty occurred in one of the New York school-houses, a few years ago. This narrative shows the importance of coolness and self-possession in the midst of danger, real or imaginary, and the perils of mere panic. The whole appears to have been a device of the enemies of Mr. Spurgeon.

THE LAST REFUGE. The world is fast running into two sects—Catholicism or gross, unquestioning faith on the one hand, or skepticism or German infidelity on the other. And I believe, I believe in my God, that the South, through the institution of African slavery, and through the nurture and training and discipline which it imposes, will be the last stand-point for Christianity.

This is the language of Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, the aider and abettor of Mr. Brooks, in his murderous assaults upon Sumner. Sumner, of course, it must be assumed that such a man has a wonderful regard for Christianity, and an intense desire to find some refuge for it in the awful perils that impend over it. So he glances over the world—over Europe and America—and after the most scrutinizing gaze, he beholds no point from which it is not about to be driven, except the South, and there it is to be repudiated by the protecting angels of American slavery. Excluded from all other quarters, it is to find a refuge and a home there. The South, be it well understood, could open to our holy religion no refuge, except 'through the institution of African slavery.' This is the grand institution in which Christianity will take shelter, as in an impenetrable Malakoff. In the day of its weakness—forsaken and driven out from the homes and hearts of freemen—it is to run under the wings of African slavery, and there be safe. This is something that we in our blindness had not thought of—here is an end aimed at by Providence, in which Christianity will take shelter, as in an impenetrable Malakoff. In the day of its weakness—forsaken and driven out from the homes and hearts of freemen—it is to run under the wings of African slavery, and there be safe. This is something that we in our blindness had not thought of—here is an end aimed at by Providence, in which Christianity will take shelter, as in an impenetrable Malakoff. In the day of its weakness—forsaken and driven out from the homes and hearts of freemen—it is to run under the wings of African slavery, and there be safe. This is something that we in our blindness had not thought of—here is an end aimed at by Providence, in which Christianity will take shelter, as in an impenetrable Malakoff. 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